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SUBJECT: ZAGLADIN, PONOMAREV ON COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY IN
CAPITALIST STATES

REF: MOSCOW 6211

1. SUMMARY: ON THE EVE OF THE MAY 4-6 ECPC EDITORIAL

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COMMISSION MEETING IN BERLIN, VADIM ZAGLADIN AND BORIS
PONOMAREV HAVE AGAIN (SEE MOSCOW 6211) PUBLISHED ARTICLES
STATING THEIR VIEWS ON COMMUNIST UNITY AND THE CORRECT
POLICY FOR COMMUNIST PARTIES OPERATING IN CAPITALIST

STATES. WRITING IN NEW TIMES, ZAGLADIN RECOMMENDS THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES USE BOURGEOIS FREEDOMS TO PURSUE THEIR GOALS BUT NOT TO BECOME OVERLY ENAMORED OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY. HE PORTRAYS THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE AS NOT NECESSARILY BINDING ON OTHERS: EACH PEOPLE AND REVOLUTIONARY PARTY "ARE FREE TO DECIDE HOW TO CARRY OUT SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION." NOR DOES HE ADMIT ANY CONTRADICTION BETWEEN POLICIES SOCIALIST STATES FOLLOW ON THE LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THOSE ADOPTED BY WORKERS' MOVEMENTS IN CAPITALIST STATES. HE SEEMS TO SAY THAT MOST IMPORTANT AT THE MOMENT IS THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE; TACTICAL DIFFERENCES WILL WORK THEMSELVES OUT LATER. THE IMPORTANT THING IS FOR ALL DETACHMENTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO MAINTAIN A SINGLE UNITED WILL TO STRUGGLE FOR A COMMON OBJECTIVE. PONOMAREV IN KOMMUNIST, ON THE OTHER HAND, ADDRESSED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN CAPITALIST STATES. AFTER NOTING THE ERROR OF REFORMISM, HE CONCEDES THE ADVANTAGE AT THE PRESENT TIME OF SEEKING A COALITION WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN A NUMBER OF NON-SOCIALIST STATES, BEARING IN MIND THAT FOR COMMUNISTS THIS IS A TACTICAL WAY-STATION AND NOT A SHIFT IN THEIR POSITION ON REFORMISM, THE CLASS STRUGGLE, OR OTHER BASIC ELEMENTS OF MARXIST SOCIALISM. END SUMMARY.

2. ON THE EVE OF THE MAY 4-6 ECPC EDITORIAL COMMISSION MEETING IN BERLIN (PONOMAREV HEADS THE SOVIET DELEGATION, ZAGLADIN IS NUMBER TWO), VADIM ZAGLADIN HAS AGAIN PUBLISHED HIS VIEWS ON THE POLICIES OF WORKERS' MOVEMENTS IN CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST STATES. HIS TONE (NEW TIMES, NO. 18, APRIL 30, 1976) CONTINUES TO BE REASONABLE AND LOW-KEYED. THE ARTICLE'S APPARENT PURPOSE IS BOTH TO REBUT THE NOTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF BOURGEOIS RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS UNDER CAPITALISM LEADS TO CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS UNDER CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM, AND TO STRESS THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY IN PRESERVING THE PEACE NECESSARY "TO BUILD SOCIALISM." SIMILARLY, AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY BORIS PONOMAREV IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF KOMMUNIST (NO. 6, APRIL 1976) REVIEWS THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT, AND ESPECIALLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. PONOMAREV CONCLUDES, ALBEIT GRUDGINGLY, THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN CAPITALIST STATES MAKES BOTH POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE THE ORGANIZATION OF A COALITION BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

3. ZAGLADIN BEGIN BY AFFIRMING THE KEY ROLE OF WORKERS' MOVEMENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS. THEY BROUGHT SOCIAL JUSTICE TO THE 14 COUNTRIES WHERE SOCIALISM HAS TRIUMPHED. EVEN IN CHINA EVENTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE TRUTHS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM BY SHOWING THAT ANY TURN AWAY FROM THE PROLETARIAT LEADS TO THE BETRAYAL OF THE IDEALS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE.

4. IN THE NON-SOCIALIST WORLD, THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY BROUGHT HARD-WON VICTORIES FOR THE FEW. ZAGLADIN TERMS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AS WITHOUT DOUBT THE MOST HYPOCRITICAL IN ITS PRETENSIONS BECAUSE IT PROCLAIMS FREEDOM, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY FOR ALL WHILE IN PRACTICE RESERVING THEIR BENEFITS ONLY TO THE CAPITALISTS. THE PROLETARIAT, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONSIDERS SUCH IDEAL TO BE REALIZEABLE ONLY AFTER THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAPITAL IS REPLACED WITH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

5. ACCORDING TO ZAGLADIN, CRITICS NOW SEEK TO DISCOVER SHORTCOMINGS IN SOVIET SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY BECAUSE IT LACKS CERTAIN FORMS CHARACTERISTIC OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, SUCH AS PLURALISM, I.E., THE FREEDOM FOR REACTIONARY FORCES TO ACT AGAINST SOCIALISM, AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY CLASS BASIS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF ANTI-SOCIALIST PARTIES OR ORGANIZATIONS. ZAGLADIN INSISTS THAT ANOTHER KIND OF PLURALISM EXISTS UNDER SOCIALISM AND IS BOTH RECOGNIZED AND REALIZED IN THE SOVIET UNION.

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VARIOUS SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED BY THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS (TRADE UNIONS, UNION OF KOLKHOZ SOVIETS, YOUTH, AND CREATIVE ORGANIZATIONS, ETC). "WHICH DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS." BUT ALL ARE UNITED IN THE TASK OF BUILDING SOCIALISM, AND THE CPSU, DRAWING INTO ITS OWN ORGANIZATION THEIR BEST REPRESENTATIVES, "UNITES AND COORDINATES THEIR INTERESTS WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS..."

6. ZAGLADIN PORTRAYS THE SOVIET EXPERIENCE AS NOT NECESSARILY BINDING ON OTHERS: THE USSR DEVELOPED ITS OWN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND NORMS TO EXPRESS "OUR TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, INTERESTS," ALTHOUGH "WE ARE FAR FROM THE THOUGHT THAT OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES MUST ADOPT OUR DEMOCRATIC FORMS, METHODS AND TRADITIONS." ON THE CONTRARY, EACH PEOPLE AND REVOLUTIONARY PARTY "ARE FREE TO DECIDE HOW TO CARRY OUT THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION."

7. ZAGLADIN CHARACTERIZES THE "ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNS NOW BEING WAGED IN THE WEST AROUND THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY" AS HAVING THEIR ORIGIN IN THE DESIRE OF CLASS ENEMIES TO CAMOUFLAGE OUTRAGEOUS VIOLATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS THAT OCCUR AS THE NORM IN CAPITALIST STATES. HE OBSERVES IRONICALLY THAT THESE DAYS A MAIN DEFENDER OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST IS THE WORKING CLASS, "WHICH SUPPORTS ITS NORMS AND INSTITUTIONS NOT TO MAKE THEM ETERNAL, BUT IN ORDER TO DEVELOP DEMOCRACY STILL FURTHER."

8. TURNING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE, ZAGLADIN NOTES THAT THE FOLLOWING EVENTS OCCURRED DURING THE PERIOD OF DETENTE: REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS WERE VICTORIOUS IN VIETNAM, LAOS, AND CAMBODIA; GREECE AND PORTUGAL WERE FREED FROM THE FASCIST YOKE AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE FRANCO REGIME BEGAN IN SPAIN; NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WON IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA-BISSAU; AND WORKERS' MOVEMENTS GREW AT AN UNPRECEDENTED RATE IN THE WEST. THUS, THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE POLICIES SOCIALIST STATES FOLLOW ON THE LEVEL OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND THOSE ADOPTED BY WORKERS' MOVEMENTS IN CAPITALIST STATES. " VARIOUS FORMS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE SAME GOALS IS NATURAL AND NORMAL. BUT PERHAPS FROM AN EXTERNAL POINT OF VIEW IT MAY APPEAR TO SOME THAT A CONTRADICTION EXISTS BETWEEN ONE AND THE OTHER. LIFE IS FULL OF SUCH SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS--WHAT CAN ONE DO, SUCH IS LIFE*" THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT ALL DETACHMENTS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT MAINTAIN A SINGLE UNITED WILL TO STRUGGLE FOR A COMMON OBJECTIVE. NO WONDER, ZAGLADIN CONCLUDES, THAT IMPERIALISM IS MAKING SUCH DETERMINED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A BREAK BETWEEN WORKING CLASSES OF SOCIALIST AND CAIPTALIST STATES.

9. WHERE ZAGLADIN DEALS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF COMMON ACTION BY COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST STATES, PONOMAREV CONSIDERS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. HE NOTES THE FAILURE OF THE LATTER TO TRANSFORM SOCIETY ON SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES WHENEVER THEY HAD THE CHANCE TO DO SO AND THE PITFALLS OF THE REFORMIST APPROACH TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE. HE CHARACTERIZES THE IDEAS PROPOSED BY COMMUNIST PARTIES AT THE PRESENT TIME FOR CREATING A DEMOCRATIC BLOC OF LEFT FORCES IN CAPITALIST STATES AS "TEMPORARY POSITIONS AND TRANSITIONAL FORMS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM." NEVERTHELESS, HE CONCLUDES RATHER GRUDGINGLY THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF WORKING CLASS UNITY IN CAPITALIST STATES "TO A GREAT EXTENT DEPENDS ON MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN

COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS", AND THAT "HISTORIC CIRCUMSTANCES ARE TAKING SUCH FORMS THAT THERE EXISTS NOW IN THE MOST DIVERSE NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO ORGANIZE A BROAD COALITION AROUND THE WORKING CLASS, CAPABLE OF UNITING THE MAJORITY OF NATIONS."

10. COMMENT: BOTH ARTICLES CONTINUES THE CPSU'S CURRENT POLICY OF APPROACHING THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST UNITY AND POLICY IN CAPITALIST STATES IN TONES OF CONCILIATION AND SWEET REASON. AS IN EARLIER ARTICLES ON THIS QUESTION BY PONOMAREV AND ZAGLADIN, BOTH WRITE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IMMINENT ECPC EDITORIAL COMMISSION MEETINGS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BERLIN (SEE MOSCOW 6211). ZAGLADIN DEMONSTRATES SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXIBILITY THAN PONOMAREV ON THE QUESTION OF TACTICS BY INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTIES. BOTH MAKE ADUBDANTLY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH FLEXIBILITY IS NOT TO BE INTERPRETED AS CPSU'S WILLINGNESS TO SEE THE WESTERN PARTIES COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REFORMISM AS A LONG-TERM TACTIC OR TO ABANDON ESSENTIAL COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS FOR THE SAKE OF FACILITATING THEIR QUEST FOR POWER IN CONDITIONS OF ADVANCED CAPITALIST SOCIETIES.

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